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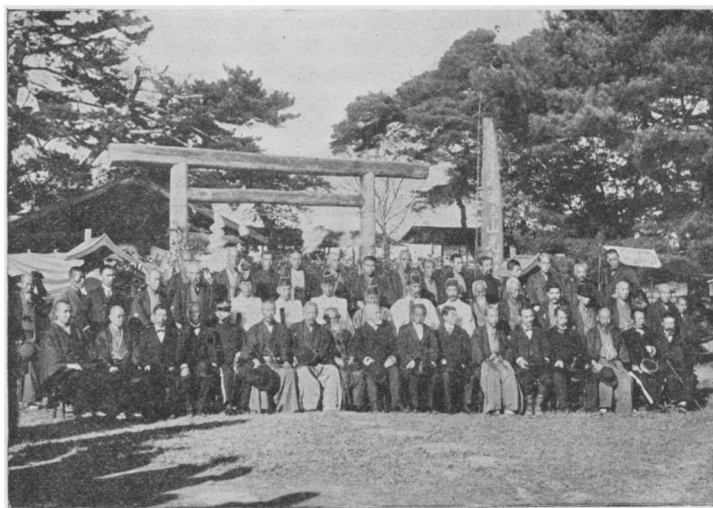
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Then he went on to say: "I think perhaps you foreigners don't value posthumous honors very much, but with us they are most eagerly sought for and are a source of real morality. Not only do they give great satisfaction and honor to the immediate family, but the whole neighborhood feels pride in the imperial favor. There is always a long list of petitions praying that some local hero may receive posthumous honors. The trouble with Ii's case is that there is a strong conservative party in the court who claim that Ii disobeyed the imperial commands and therefore ought never to be 'deified,' but there is also a growing party in favor of Ii, and I think that sooner or later he will have his titles restored and be crowned with the coveted Zo-i (rank conferred upon dead patriots). When that time comes his whole clan will be filled with rejoicings, and indeed, if you Americans would like to join us then in erecting a monument



Hikone samurai celebrating the birthday of Baron Ii Kamon. Two white men in centre the first foreigners ever invited to attend the ceremony.

to the memory of the co-signer of the first commercial treaty, all Japan would shout with delight."

Well, public opinion has at last gained influence enough to have a bronze monument of Ii erected, but even then the hostility of the still powerful conservatives in the court follows this hero in rather ignoble ways, of which two illustrations may be given: It was planned to erect the monument in Tokyo where other national heroes are honored, but it seems that these conservatives made it impossible to secure official permission. Thereupon, as Baron Ii's treaty had so much to do with the opening of Japan, Yokohama, the great open port of the Empire, was selected for the next best place, and the fiftieth anniversary of the opening of that port was fixed upon for the unveiling of the monument. This anniversary took place July 1, 1909, and was a magnificent affair. It would have been a most fitting occasion for the unveiling, but again the powerful conservatives, who style Ii a traitor, compelled the postponement of the ceremony until the 11th, so that the memorial monument would be deprived of the glory of the grand semi-centennial.

The story of Ii as outlined above can be paralleled in the history of every great nation. But the after effects are peculiar to Japan and reveal a custom from which

Western nations are far advanced. I refer to the so-called deification of the eighteen samurai who killed Ii. This spring, April 12, 1910, I happened to be in Tokyo and found a vast crowd of tens of thousands of men, women and children filling the long Yasukuni-Shrine Park and blocking all the streets around. It was the fiftieth anniversary of the assassination of Ii, and the weather happened to be just the same as it was on that fatal day — a snowstorm amid oceans of cherry blossoms, a sight few ever see. This great celebration in honor of these "moral assassins" who profoundly believed that no other punishment was fitting for the man who had gone contrary to imperial commands, shows that multitudes of Japanese still believe that these men were true patriots, "righteous samurai," and therefore were properly deified in the Yasukuni Shrine.

But the fact that such men as Count Okuma, statesman, author, educator and president of the Japan Peace Society, was one of the orators at the unveiling, shows that there is a growing belief among thoughtful Japanese that these eighteen *ronin* were at best only blind patriots, while Ii saw into the distant future and willingly gave his life to save Japan from a disastrous and humiliating war. Knowing that he would be misunderstood at first and even called a traitor, yet believing that time would bring full recognition of his true patriotism, the Baron wrote this stanza:

"In early spring the clear water of the lake is ice-bound,

The secrets of its depths can no man reveal."

While of course nobody regards Ii as a friend of America, or a profound lover of peace, yet the daring course he took saved the two nations from war and opened up the way for the growing friendship between Japan and the United States that is commonly referred to as traditional and historic. Therefore I gladly heed the request of the Hikone samurai and give this story of their lord to the people of our great republic.

Professor William James' Peace Utopia.*

I will now confess my own utopia. I devoutly believe in the reign of peace and in the gradual advent of some sort of a socialistic equilibrium. The fatalistic view of the war-function is to me nonsense, for I know that war-making is due to definite motives and subject to prudential checks and reasonable criticisms, just like any other form of enterprise. And when whole nations are the armies, and the science of destruction vies in intellectual refinement with the sciences of production, I see that war becomes absurd and impossible from its own monstrousness. Extravagant ambitions will have to be replaced by reasonable claims, and nations must make common cause against them. I see no reason why all this should not apply to yellow as well as to white countries, and I look forward to a future when acts of war shall be formally outlawed as between civilized peoples.

All these beliefs of mine put me squarely into the

*From "The Moral Equivalent of War" in *McClure's Magazine*. Republished by the American Association for International Conciliation, 501 West One Hundred and Sixteenth Street, New York City.

anti-militarist party. But I do not believe that peace either ought to be or will be permanent on this globe unless the states pacifically organized preserve some of the old elements of army discipline. A permanently successful peace-economy cannot be a simple pleasure-economy. In the more or less socialistic future towards which mankind seems drifting we must still subject ourselves collectively to those severities which answer to our real position upon this only partly hospitable globe. We must make new energies and hardships continue the manliness to which the military mind so faithfully clings. Martial virtues must be the enduring cement; intrepidity, contempt of softness, surrender of private interest, obedience to command must still remain the rock upon which states are built — unless, indeed, we wish for dangerous reactions against commonwealths fit only for contempt, and liable to invite attack whenever a centre of crystallization for military-minded enterprise gets formed anywhere in their neighborhood.

The war party is assuredly right in affirming and reaffirming that the martial virtues, although originally gained by the race through war, are absolute and permanent human goods. Patriotic pride and ambition in their military form are, after all, only specifications of a more general competitive passion. They are its first form, but that is no reason for supposing them to be its last form. Men now are proud of belonging to a conquering nation, and without a murmur they lay down their persons and their wealth, if by so doing they may fend off subjection. But who can be sure that *other aspects of one's country* may not, with time and education and suggestion enough, come to be regarded with similarly effective feelings of pride and shame? Why should men not some day feel that it is worth a blood tax to belong to a collectivity superior in *any* ideal respect? Why should they not blush with indignant shame if the community that owns them is vile in any way whatsoever? Individuals, daily more numerous, now feel this civic passion. It is only a question of blowing on the spark till the whole population gets incandescent, and on the ruins of the old morals of military honor a stable system of morals of civic honor builds itself up. What the whole community comes to believe in grasps the individual as in a vise. The war function has grasped us so far; but constructive interests may some day seem no less imperative, and impose on the individual a hardly lighter burden.

Let me illustrate my idea more concretely. There is nothing to make one indignant in the mere fact that life is hard, that men should toil and suffer pain. The planetary conditions once for all are such, and we can stand it. But that so many men, by mere accidents of birth and opportunity, should have a life of *nothing else* but toil and pain and hardness and inferiority imposed upon them, should have *no* vacation, while others natively no more deserving never get any taste of this campaigning life at all,—*this* is capable of arousing indignation in reflective minds. It may end by seeming shameful to all of us that some of us have nothing but campaigning, and others nothing but unmanly ease. If now—and this is my idea—there were, instead of military conscription, a conscription of the whole youthful population to form for a certain number of years a part of the army enlisted against *Nature*, the injustice would tend to be

evened out, and numerous other goods to the commonwealth would follow. The military ideals of hardihood and discipline would be wrought into the growing fibre of the people; no one would remain blind, as the luxurious classes now are blind, to man's real relations to the globe he lives on, and to the permanently sour and hard foundations of his higher life. To coal and iron mines, to freight trains, to fishing fleets in December, to dish-washing, clothes-washing and window-washing, to road-building and tunnel-making, to foundries and stoke-holes, and to the frames of skyscrapers, would our gilded youths be drafted off, according to their choice, to get the childishness knocked out of them, and to come back into society with healthier sympathies and soberer ideas. They would have paid their blood tax, done their own part in the immemorial human warfare against nature, they would tread the earth more proudly, the women would value them more highly, they would be better fathers and teachers of the following generation.

Such a conscription, with the state of public opinion that would have required it, and the many moral fruits it would bear, would preserve in the midst of a pacific civilization the manly virtues which the military party is so afraid of seeing disappear in peace. We should get toughness without callousness, authority with as little criminal cruelty as possible, and painful work done cheerily because the duty is temporary and threatens not, as now, to degrade the whole remainder of one's life. I spoke of the "moral equivalent" of war. So far war has been the only force that can discipline a whole community, and until an equivalent discipline is organized, I believe that war must have its way. But I have no serious doubt that the ordinary prides and shames of social man, once developed to a certain intensity, are capable of organizing such a moral equivalent as I have sketched, or some other just as effective for preserving manliness of type. It is but a question of time, of skillful propagandism and of opinion-making men seizing historic opportunities.

The martial type of character can be bred without war. Strenuous honor and disinterestedness abound elsewhere. Priests and medical men are in a fashion educated to it, and we should all feel some degree of it imperative if we were conscious of our work as an obligatory service to the state. We should be *owned*, as soldiers are by the army, and our pride would rise accordingly. We could be poor, then, without humiliation, as army officers now are. The only thing needed henceforward is to inflame the civic temper as past history has inflamed the military temper.

Christianity and Pacifism.

BY ALFRED MOHN, PASTOR OF THE REFORMED FRENCH CHURCH AT THE HAGUE.

Discourse delivered at the great mass peace meeting held in Stockholm, Sunday evening, July 31.

When an assembly, made up of representatives from all parts of the globe, a universal congress like that which will open to-morrow in your beautiful city, meets anywhere, one may ask what were the causes which led the country where it meets to be chosen in preference to others as the seat of its labors.

An alternative naturally presents itself to the mind: